1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

353 778 [618] [407] sweet potatoes. In the case of a jointly owned *kung t'ing*, several members of the large *tsu* who share in the ownership of a harvesting machine or winnower may store the machinery in the room.

353 356 779 778 The multiple uses to which the *kung t'ing* is put account for its usually untidy and cluttered condition. It is seldom cleaned or dusted. Dust and ashes from burned paper money and incense accumulate during the period between the New Year's clean-up and the sanitation inspection of the village by the police and public office people.

776 778 In the Hsin Hsing area, statues of the gods are housed in the *kung t'ing* of village families or in temples. Actually, only the very powerful gods, such as the goddess Matsu and some of the underworld gods, are housed in individual temples, usually in Lukang or some other town. The Earth God is the only god who has his own small temple in each village. His temple is known as the T'u Ti Kung Miao. In a few larger villages a temple sometimes is built to house all the statues owned by the community. But Hsin Hsing and other small villages of the area have no such temple, and village-owned statues are therefore maintained in the *kung t'ing* of private homes. When it is necessary to worship many gods at one time, the gods are invited to come from their resident *kung t'ing* to the single *kung t'ing* which is to be the center of worship for the occasion.

776 778 794 Each year two different Hsin Hsing village families are charged with the responsibility of housing and caring for the statues of Ta Shih Kung, the village god, and T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God, and for arranging any events which concern these particular gods. Each family head is in charge of a single statue and is called a "pot master" (*lu chu*). (The term "pot" apparently refers to an incense or fire pot often used in the worship of a god.) The pot master is usually assisted by several men.

776 794 787 The pot masters and their assistants are said to be chosen by the gods themselves at the annual formal celebration of the village god's birthday. On this occasion, the names of all the village family heads are read out singly "to the gods," who are asked to make their choice. To determine the god's answer, kidney-shaped blocks are thrown in turn by each family head. The ways in which the blocks fall are interpreted as either an affirmative or negative reply. A third possibility is that the god is laughing at you. The men who are rewarded with the most positive responses are named pot masters and assistants. Not infrequently, the old head of the household who is selected as pot master is already virtually retired. In such a case, it is realized that a son will handle the great responsibilities of the job.

554 776 794 Occasionally in Hsin Hsing, pot masters have taken their responsibilities seriously enough to spend a great deal of their own money to refurbish an old and worn statue of the god. In one such instance, a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $300 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

The outlines of this structure are clearly reflected in the religious life of the district of Chichou. Like independent communities all over China, each of the five lún has a small temple devoted to the god of the land, Tu Ti Kung. A god of little rank in the supernatural hierarchy, the Tu Ti Kung of each village is essentially a village recorder. He records births and deaths, marriages, and such changes in the village as the opening of new fields, the construction of a new home, or the arrival of a new family. Generally speaking, the Tu Ti Kung has as his province the immediate material welfare of the particular community in which his temple is located. Of much higher rank than Tu Ti Kung is the god Shang Ti Kung. Lodged in a large temple located in approximately the geographical center of Chichou, this god's authority is recognized as extending over the entire district. The management of his temple is appropriately in the hands of a district-wide committee which arranges for the upkeep of the temple and organizes the annual celebration in honor of the god's birthday. Each year this committee chooses by lot from one of the five lún a dozen or so men who have the task of carrying the god's chair in his annual "tour of inspection." Preceded by banners and incense burners, and followed by several bands and throngs of subjects, the god traverses the four corners of Chichou, his trip symbolizing the extent and area of his authority. Whereas the Tu Ti Kung is a minor official charged with the responsibility of keeping village records, the Shang Ti Kung is comparable to a magistrate responsible for the administration of an entire district. The five Tu Ti Kung thus represent the independence

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials; a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

178 many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white
[588] western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial
[961] ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues
[756] to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two
[302] men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many
[796] of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty observances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the
[771] old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of
[799] the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of
[796] villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god
[798] Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

God's Associations

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794 A god's association is almost identical to the sworn brothers association and is seemingly formed in the same way with the same kind of membership but it always has an identification with a single god. The primary difference is that the sworn brothers association ends with the death of its members but a god's association membership is inherited by a man's oldest son or some other male relative if there is no son. Since there is a higher probability of adding additional members to god's associations, they tended to be much larger.

I was never able to determine exactly the differences distinguishing the establishment of each. It did seem that if a sworn brothers association prospered and its members lived a long time, there was a tendency to continue it by inviting sons as replacements and adding other members so that it eventually evolved into a god's association. In no case did a son and father both belong to the same association at the same time.

There were two god's associations centered in Sanlei and compared with the sworn brothers associations, both were larger, contained members dispersed over a greater territory, involved greater class distinctions, and of course, had members covering a greater age span. The two god's associations in Sanlei both had regional political leaders and wealthy men among its members although men of this type do not live in the village.

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festi-
778 794 623 vals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [788] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the special committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same [562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment costs are less each succeeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

796 With two different potmasters, each with their respective
• 794 committees, twenty-five percent of village households are involved in temple work at a given moment in time without counting the permanent committee. There are minor events that receive lesser attention and also, recently there were two special "Fire Purification Ceremonies" a year apart. The first was sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations who alone paid for it. The village united for the second and helped pay for it in the previously described manner with a potmaster and committee which was in addition to the other committees previously listed.

794 The temple was completely rebuilt ten years ago, supervised by the major temple committee, and paid for by contributions. Former villagers from all over Taiwan made donations, about one third of the cost borne by two brothers, sons of a former village resident, whose meat canning factory in Taipei was a financial success. The brothers were honored by heading the dedication plaque on the temple wall which listed all donations by names of contributors. The brothers subsequently returned more often on festive occasions and have also given job preferences to village men who go to the city.

Talei Li Temple Association

632 The temple in Sanlei is owned only by Sanlei
794 villagers while the temple in Erhlei belongs to all of

• 784 Talei Li. The five villages have always participated in
632 maintaining the li temple except that in the recent period, Wulei, as previously mentioned, has been taken over by Mainlanders who do not participate in li activities. Everyone in the li agrees that the Erhlei temple is at a higher level than Sanlei in the religious hierarchy. Other than for special events however, villagers in Sanlei and Srulei usually go to the Sanlei temple, and those in Erhlei and T'oulei, to the Erhlei temple although convenience is the only reason mentioned for the preference. It may be noted however, that the sets of villagers who prefer each temple are in perfect correlation with the sets of villagers who comprise the two regional li factions (See Chapter IV).

There is an Erhlei temple association board, similar to that described for Sanlei except that the membership consists of two senior men from each village in the li and an influential man in Erhlei is the effective informal leader in addition to being the formal head. Most affairs in the li temple (located in Erhlei) are run by this permanent temple committee although additional aides are selected by use of the shen pei. In accordance with the distribution of power in the li, if the head of an affair is from one end of the li, the chief assistant is from the other, and minor assistants are evenly distributed. However, the major permanent temple committee really runs the whole affair. The chairman has been

794 632 heavily criticized in the past[6] but has not been challenged for his post which he seemingly inherited from his father.

794 621 632 Religious affairs are celebrated with the same kind of periodicy described for Sanlei and on most occasions, celebrations are held simultaneously in both temples. In this case, the two committees cooperate, sharing the cost of the entertainment which alternates yearly in location between Sanlei and Erhlei. The cost is greater for Sanlei villagers as they are the only ones in the li who contribute to both temples. I was not confidently able to establish a reason for this fact but as previously stated, Sanlei villagers all came from the same village in Fukien and brought a god's statue with them from the Mainland. The other villages in the li were settled about the same time but each consisted of people from a variety of villages in Fukien. The big li temple was built first, all five villages united to erect it. A few years later, a group of men in Sanlei all named Liao decided to build a temple of their own to house the god's statue brought in from the mainland and did not obtain help from other villages in the li. Sanlei village was more integrated than the others in the li and has remained so with the village temple as a symbol of pride and a focus for the community. There is a suggestion of a chicken-egg type question in this explanation. That is, the community was sufficiently integrated to build its own temple; the temple was a force promoting community integration. Which comes first?

794 621 632 In the post-World War II reconstruction of the typhoon-destroyed temple, the Sanlei planning committee did attempt to solicit funds from other villages in Talei Li. They had a few initial refusals from influential leaders who claimed the li temple was sufficient so did not press the issue but withdrew with a claim that Sanlei could and would build a temple alone. Their success, the temple is more plush than the li temple, served to raise village pride and also provides a stronger in-group feeling although there is still some resentment over the failure of the rest of the li to cooperate.

796 794 632 628 For many years Talei Li and another li jointly participated in an annual thanksgiving festival. At first, the festivals alternated yearly between the major temples located in each li. After some time passed, since the other li was much larger, two festivals were held at that li to one in Talei Li. One of the festival events featured a cash award for the owner of the largest pig which had been slaughtered for the banquet. One year, a Talei Li resident entered a simply enormous pig, but the festival committee (a majority from outside Talei Li) selected a different pig as the winner after both had been weighed. Talei Li people claimed the chosen pig had lead weights in its stomach and they withdrew from the cooperative ceremony in anger. The conflict aided in uniting the people of Talei Li and although the event occurred eight years ago, it is still a frequent topic of

conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally sprinkled with "we" and "they."

The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

In a discussion of the significance of ancestral hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman (1958; 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural features of many communities in Southeastern China from whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He also points out there are other kinds of social organizations in local communities such as voluntary associations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted a village dominated by an ancestral hall association with another village dominated by a temple association and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be alternative structures fulfilling identical functions. Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have both an active temple organization and an active ancestral hall association for such would likely lead to much disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and temple organizations must have been alternative forms for controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-lineage villages," although the literature does not always relate the temple organization to village composition in kinship terms (1968:19).

On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 noted for its single lineage villages, there was con-
182 siderable previous experience with lineage structures
613 and, as noted previously, the home village on the main-
621 land had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover,
794 there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost all residents in the early history of the community and still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the frontier in lineage development are more cogent than Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulous to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak claims that the frontier required such "extensive cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments" (1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei village was established in an area occupied by hostile aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary to build a wall around the village and mount a regular guard. Developing the land also required cooperative work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards fragmentation such as the development of lineages would have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

121 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as
182 contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the
613 degree to which land is held in joint ownership", neither
621 of which were significant in Sanlei.
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Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been somewhat ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the meat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

some in observance of a promise made to the gods for fulfilling some previous request.

On the interior wall of the temple is a bulletin board topped by an engraved history of the temple and list of donations for its construction. A report of collections and expenditures for the preceding religious event is posted in descending order by amount of donation per household. In this manner, the gods are advised of contributions and every resident and visitor to the community may learn who is important in the village, i.e., the larger the donation, the higher the status.

There are two regular means to question the gods. One method involves use of the shen pei which look rather like they were made from a short blunt banana sliced in two lengthwise. After asking a question accompanied by appropriate ritual, the shen pei are dropped on the floor from chest level. There are two falls interpreted as yes and two as no, thus yielding a fifty per cent success probability. The second method of questioning gods involves randomly selecting a fortune stick from a vase. Matching the stick is a fortune on a set of tablets but all fortunes are rather ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations.

There is no regular priest attached to the temple nor is it on a route of a visiting circuit of priests for the temple is a religious center complete unto itself.

778 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple
796 which belongs to the entire community. Each particular
794 festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a com-
624 mittee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six
787 village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

562 Women have never been the pot master but they have
624 regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this
794 is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in
[796] which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

562 in many other areas of Taiwan. The only other office to
624
[594] which females are elected in Sanlei is the parent teacher's association although as chia chang, females are eligible for any political office. (Women from some other li around Hsin Tien are elected to the township council.) This explanation of the relationship between the percentage of female lu chu and the percentage of female chia chang cannot be tested without further data from other regions of Taiwan.

358 The only semi-permanent temple official is the caretaker who tends the temple, keeps it clean, puts flowers in the vases, chases out children when they are too noisy, and watches for thieves. He receives the income from a small piece of temple-owned land but since it is not adequate to pay for a regular worker's services, the caretaker's job is always filled by one of the semi-retired
783 old men who has extra leisure time. The current caretaker
[358] replaced the former caretaker two years ago because his wife had died rendering him ritually unclean for three years. People who are ritually unclean, i.e., those in mourning or women who are menstruating, should not enter the temple lest they contaminate the gods.

Temple Gods

7% There are many different shen (gods) who are all arranged in a great pantheon not unlike an emperor with his officials descending down to the level of the local

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
573 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea
621 and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
794 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far
632 ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
796

783 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li
796 mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member
794 of the committee because of his experience and knowledge
632 and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants.
621 Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date
796 and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible
621

796 585 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 783 521 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 783 794 The last official function of the responsible committee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

796 disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board.
783 The account included a list of donors, household head only,
794 in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

796 783 621 The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were [869] created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and 796 observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay 783 parties, especially since they included much drinking. 273 The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.